## Message Text

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PBOR, JO, EG, SY, SA, XF SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY

REF STATE 268177

- 1. REFTEL ARRIVED JUST IN TIME FOR ME TO MAKE DELIVERY TO MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS HASSAN IBRAHIM AT A MEETING WHICH HAD BEEN SET UP FOR LATE MORNING NOVEMBER 9. THE LETTER HAS BEEN TECHNICALLY ADDRESSED TO PRIME MINISTER BADRAN AS FOREIGN MINISTER. I AM STANDING BY FOR A CALL ON HIM. AT IBRAHIM'S SUGGESTION I WILL ALSO PROVIDE A COPY TO ABDUL HAMID SHARAF, ROYAL COURT CHIEF. SHARAF, BADRAN AND IBRAHIM WILL BE MEETING BEFORE TOMORROW (NOVEMBER 10) TO WORK OUT FINAL COORDINATION OF JORDANIAN POLICY ON TUNIS FOREIGN MINISTER'S MEETING.
- 2. IBRAHIM READ THE LETTER THROUGH THOROUGHLY IN MY PRESENCE. HE THEN MADE A NUMBER OF POINTS. HE SAID AT THE LAST AL FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING SOME MONTHS SECRET

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AGO HE HAD MENTIONED THE PROBLEM OF COORDINATION FOR GENEVA IN HIS PUBLIC STATEMENT. HE AND FAHMI HAD THEN AGREED IT BEST TO KEEP THE ISSUE FROM BEING DISCUSSED ANY MORE FULLY AT TUNIS. AT THAT POINT, AND IN SUBSEQUENT CONSULTA-

TIONS, KHADDAM HAD INDICATED THAT SYRIA WOULD PRESENT IN

ITS PUBLIC ADDRESS ITS FULL POSITION ON GENEVA, BUT

WOULD NOT SEEK TO INTRODUCE A RESOLUTION OR DOCUMENT FOR ACTION. IBRAHIM NOTED HE WAS NOT FULLY CONFIDENT THAT SYRIA WOULD MAINTAIN THIS POSITION.

3. HE ASSURED ME THAT JORDAN WILL DO ITS BEST TO KEEP DISCUSSION FROM TAKING PLACE AS THE SECRETARY ASKS. HE BELIEVES EGYPT IS WITH THEM. HE HAS HEARD FROM KUWAITIS THAT THEY SUPPORT THIS ISSUE. SAUDIS WILL BE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT AND CAN BRING ALONG GULF MINISTERS WHO TEND TO FORMULATE THEIR VIEWS IN A BLOCK. BUT EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANT WILL BE ACTIONS KHADDAM WILL TAKE. IBRAHIM IS CONVINCED THAT PLO WILL PUSH VERY HARD FOR A STATEMENT OR RESOLUTION COMMITTING ALL THE ARAB MINISTERS TO A PLO DELEGATION IDEA. IN SUCH CASE. IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO HAVE EGYPT, SYRIA AND SAUDI ARABIA STANDING FIRM AGAINST CONSIDERATION IF IT IS TO BE BLOCKED. IF ISSUE IS PUSHED HARD BY PLO, ARAB MINISTERS WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO WORK ON THE BASIS OF ACCEPTING SOME PROPOSAL AND IN SUCH CASE HE WOULD ENVISAGE THE EMERGENCE OF LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD TALK ABOUT "PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION" OR EVEN "PLO REPRESENTATION" IN AN ARAB DELEGATION, TRYING TO AVOID AN EVEN MORE DIFFICULT FORMULATION CENTERING AROUND THE ABSOLUTE DESIGNATION OF THE PLO AS THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION WITHIN THE UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION OR SECRET

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AS THE EXCLUSIVE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIANS. IBRAHIM MADE CLEAR HE WAS ONLY DISCUSSING ALTERNATIVES AND THAT HE WAS SURE THAT HIS FIRM INSTRUCTIONS WOULD BE TO AVOID ANY DISCUSSION AT ALL ON GENEVA. ONLY PLO AND LIBYA HAVE THUS FAR SUGGESTED GENEVA AGENDA ITEM FOR TUNIS DISCUSSIONS.

- 4. CONTINUING FURTHER, I ASKED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ARAB SUMMIT. HE SAID IT WILL BE A DIFFICULT PROPOSITION TO AVOID. JORDAN'S LONG-STANDING POLICY IS ALWAYS TO TALK AND ALWAYS TO BE AVAILABLE TO ATTEND SUCH SESSIONS. EGYPT TOO WILL HAVE DIFFICULTY DUCKING THE ISSUE. PERHAPS EGYPT OR OTHERS CAN INSIST ON POSTPONING OF THE TIME OF A MEETING UNTIL THE SPRING OF 1978. HE SAID THE TIMING IS LIKELY TO PROVIDE MORE ROOM FOR MANEUVER THAN THE QUESTION OF HOLDING A SESSION.
- 5. HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT JORDANIANS WILL GIVE SOME THOUGHT TO WHETHER THE AL FOREIGN MINISTERS IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER CAN PUT A LITTLE MORE STEAM BEHIND THE NOTION OF A CONFRONTATION STATE SUMMIT. SUCH MIGHT

HELP TO FINESSE TOO MANY SPECIFICS AT TUNIS REGARDING GENEVA OTHER THAN RECOMMENDING A SUMMIT OF CONFRONTATION STATES THE RESULTS OF WHICH THE OTHER ARAB STATES WOULD GO ALONG WITH. HE RECALLED FOR ME THAT RABAT SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF 1974 HAD MADE CONFRONTATION STATES SOLELY RESPONSIBLE FOR CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE.

6. COMMENT: JORDANIAN POSITION, NOT UNEXPECTEDLY, IS EXTREMELY CLOSE TO OUR OWN. HOWEVER, THEIR FINAL APPROACH OBVIOUSLY WILL BE KEYED TO SAILING CAREFULLY BETWEEN EGYPT AND SYRIA. BEHIND IT ALL, IBRAHIM WILL BE PREPARED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH FAHMI WHO HE BELIEVES SEES EYE-TO-EYE WITH HIM. HE HOPES SAUDIS CAN BE HELPFUL WITH SYRIANS WHO WILL BE SECRET

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CRUCIAL IN CREATING THE KIND OF ARAB CONSENSUS WHICH CAN STAND UP TO PLO, IRAQ, LIBYA AND OTHERS. THERE IS OF COURSE THE FACT THAT THE ARAB REJECTIONISTS ARE SEEMINGLY DEDICATED AGAINST ANY AND ALL NEGOTIATIONS AND THIS FACTOR MIGHT INHIBIT THEIR BEING VERY FORWARD ON THE ISSUE OF THE NATURE OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION AT GENEVA.

7. RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT REPEAT CAIRO, DAMASCUS, AND JIDDA. PICKERING

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## Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am Channel Indicators: n/a **Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED** Concepts: AGREEMENTS, PALESTINIANS, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, MEETING DELEGATIONS, PEACE TALKS, CAT-B Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Sent Date: 09-Nov-1977 12:00:00 am Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW Disposition Date: 22 May 2009 Disposition Event: Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977AMMAN08295
Document Source: Conditional Conditions of the Condition of t **Document Unique ID: 00** Drafter: n/a Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS Errors: N/A **Expiration:** Film Number: P840089-1675 Format: TEL From: AMMAN Handling Restrictions: n/a Image Path: ISecure: 1 Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19771181/aaaacgww.tel Line Count: 147 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes: Litigation History: Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM Message ID: 8a2eb71e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc Office: ACTION NODS Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 77 STATE 268177 Retention: 0 Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags: Review Date: 23-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am Review Event: Review Exemptions: n/a **Review Media Identifier:** Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a SAS ID: 665489 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE Subject: MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY TAGS: PGOV, PBOR, JO, EG, SY, SA, XF To: STATE SS MULTIPLE Type: TE vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/8a2eb71e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc Review Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

22 May 2009